582 to release me in return for my father, who has passed away;
584 *ana abúj ráḥ abṛik teḡúz mia rukubti abṛik tedállerni 'awáz abúj ráḥ.*" The *ḥaḡḡir* is expected to take pity on her and allow her freely to choose a husband for herself, but nobody can compel him to do so.

588 In case of his refusal there is nothing left for the girl
• 694 but to elope. She flees with her youth to some distant tribe;
583 there they put themselves under the protection of a powerful chief, *jinḥáṭún jamm al-'arab jetazabbenúnhom.* They can then marry and live as man and wife in the same tent but are always threatened with the revenge of the *eben al-'amm*. An elopement is punished in the same way as murder, and the thirst for revenge must be satisfied.

'Aǧâǧ al-Msêḥi was in love with a Rwala girl and wanted to marry her. To this her *eben al-'amm* would not consent. After three years of hopeless love, *mutaháwin ḥar w-ijjáhu ṭalâǧ sinín*, 'Aǧâǧ fled with his sweetheart to the Ahl aš-Šemâl, tribes camping in the neighborhood of the Ḥawrân. As soon as the news spread next morning that the lovers had escaped, *inzahom minḥáṭín*, the *eben al-'amm* with his kinsfolk mounted their camels and went in pursuit of the lovers, *ṭalab*. But 'Aǧâǧ reached his destination, was given a tent, and was united to the girl in marriage. His kinsfolk offered the pursuing relative a ransom, but the latter steadily refused. Leaving his tent two months afterwards, he went in search of 'Aǧâǧ, whom he found and killed with his young bride. Returning home, he demanded in the name of his kin from the kin of 'Aǧâǧ the blood money for seven murdered men, because the murder of an eloped woman, *šemâṭa*, is valued at that of seven men. Her lover should not have eloped with her, but, having done so, he should have protected her better, knowing the danger with which she was threatened.

If the *eben al-'amm* kills the man who has eloped with the girl, he pays only half of the blood money, as the eloper was himself the cause of his own death.

Dîbân, the white slave of Meǧwel's family, fell in love with a Rwala girl, who returned his affection. Both knew that they could never belong to each other, for a slave, though white, dares not marry even the poorest Rwala woman. So they decided to escape to some settled country and to live in one of the villages there. But they were pursued and the girl was killed by her own brother.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A single Rwejli of the 'Abdelle clan eloped with a white slave girl. The search for him proved useless — he disappeared without leaving a trace. Should he ever return, he would be killed by his own kin.

When a youth wishes to marry a certain girl, he confides his secret to some older friend, begging him to find out from his father whether he agrees to his wooing or not. It is considered bad form, *'ajb*, for the son to ask his father for this permission. The father, who as a rule knows all the time which girl the son has chosen, says after hearing the news: "If it is Allâh's will, it will be good. Be it blessed. This day is already gone; to-morrow we shall realize his wish; *al-jowm fât bukra nakẓi ṛaradeh*." Next day the father goes with some prominent man to the father of the girl. They sit down, exchange greetings, talk about various matters, and finally say:

"We want thy daughter X for the youth Y, *nabṛi minak bintak al-flâne lil-walad al-flâni*."

"All right. Salt cannot be increased except with salt again. *Ṭajjeb mâ-zûd al-meleḥ il'a-l-melâḥ*. I am satisfied. Let them beget children together. Speak with her cousin, *eben 'ammha*."

Then they go to the *eben al-'amm*, sit down, salute, and converse a while. The youth's father rises, beckons to the cousin or the second cousin, leaves the tent with him, and they squat down at some distance from the tent, where nobody can hear them.

"We give thee good evening, *numassik bel-ḫejr*."

"Oh, good evening to you both! *jâ masa-l-ḫejr*. You surely did not come to me without desiring something, *mâ-ntom bela ja ṛaraẓ*."

"Yes, we come with a certain desire; *na'am ǧâjin bel-ṛaraẓ*."

"Then speak! *ekreǧû*."

"May Allâh add to thy days! We want her for him, and what thou desirest we hold ready for thee."

Now if the *eben al-'amm* agrees to the girl's marriage, he says: "I want this and that." If he does not, he answers: "She is destined to be my wife. I will not give her." But if he has no intention of marrying the girl himself and wants no compensation, he ends the parley with the words: "I wish you well."

The dowry or price demanded for the bride is expressed by the word *sijâḳ*. This means only the value put on the bride

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Šammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself.[1] The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconciliation with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

If a plain but healthy girl cannot find a husband, it is the duty of her nearest kinsman with whom marriage is permissible to marry her; should he refuse he would be a butt for jokes among all his kin forever. In this manner a girl of al-Wiṭre (or al-Wuṭara), subject to Ebe Fâ'ûr of the 'Ebede tribe, was married in 1909.

586 837 587 [684] 581 602 626

PENALTIES FOR UNCHASTITY

Whoever accuses a female, whether girl or woman, of unchastity and cannot prove it, forfeits his hand; this is cut off by a kinsman of the accused. If he puts himself in good

683 831

1 [Errata: See p. 712, cat. 116 for correction of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

683 time under the protection of some powerful personage, he must give ten camels to the girl or woman he has insulted.

Many a Rwala girl becomes pregnant before the wedding. 836 As soon as this is noticed by her relatives, they try to help 847 her by various means, even if injurious to her health. Should 762 the girl die from an abortion nobody will ever hear of it, as the women keep silent and the men as a rule pay no attention to matters concerning women. If the girl cannot rid herself of the foetus, she presses her lover to marry her at once, but in case he refuses or is absent at the time she often [693 commits suicide. For should her father or brother find that 684] his daughter or sister is with child, he would coax her on some pretext outside of the camp, kill her, cut her body in ten pieces, and then bury them. Nobody will take the girl's part, nobody asks the reason, they simply talk of her as if she had died a natural death. Her kin, *ahl*, would not allow a single girl who had become a mother to stay among them. 848 Her child would not be a member of the kin, and, because it 851 would not be acknowledged by the father on account of its 783 illegitimacy, it would be without a kin and would stand in the clan like a stranger, without protection, without help. But a position of this nature is so contrary to the views and customs 836 of the Bedouins that it is never allowed to arise. A pregnant girl may escape from her tribe and seek refuge in the settled territory or in a large town and try to make a living there. If she disappears without making herself conspicuous, no one will pursue her; she is soon forgotten, yet must never return. Her kinsfolk consider her dead and would kill her should she come back to them. The girls, of course, know the punishment meted out to them, and therefore place a saber between themselves and their lovers at their night meetings, with the warning: "I am a maiden! Fear Allâh. *Ana bint ḥef min allâh.*"

684 Only when the girl has been raped, *marṣûba*, will her 847 relatives spare her, but in this case they kill both the violator and the child without mercy, and then demand from the murdered man's kin the blood price for the child. This cannot [848] be left alive, as it would have no kin, *ahl*, and compensation for it is asked because it has weakened the girl, a member of their kin.

:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

'Arîb signifies the same as *aṣîl*, pure-blooded, well-born, noble. Whoever desires a thoroughbred son must beget him by a woman descended of a good family. The man resembles the fire, the woman a foundation. When a fire is lighted by a woman in a tent, the women from other tents send their daughters or servant girls to fetch fire from her. Each of these girl twists a wisp of dry *šîḥ*, *rqṣa'*, or *rṭa*, grasps the red-hot coal in her hand, puts it into the wisp, and swings this in the air till it ignites. If the foundation, in this case the wisp, *mižbâs*, be not dry, no amount of swinging will make the red coal burst into flame. *'Ezz* means good qualities, bravery in particular. *'Ezz* proceeds from the veins of a woman. *aṣâṣ* or *naṣab* expresses the woman's origin. The daughter of a worthless, pusillanimous father will not have *'ezz*, nobility, in her veins; therefore it cannot be expected in her son, even if begotten by the bravest of men.

Criminal intercourse with animals is almost unknown among the Rwala, as is that of one man with another, the penalty in this case being the death of the violator or of both. In the Ḳmuṣa division a negro, who came there from Ibn Rašîd's army, violated a small boy far from the tents. On the boy's complaint, his kin ran to catch the slave who made his escape. They would certainly have killed him.

POEMS DEPICTING QUALITIES AND DEEDS OF MEN

Vigilance and Energy

1. *Jâ-llâḥ ṭalabtak jâ serî' al-maṭâbe*
   teftaḥ lena bâb-al-faraǧ bel-mefâtîḥ
2. *ṭalbet 'obejden 'enda rabbeh w-ṭâbeh*
   jâ ḥâleîen rizḳ al-'arab w-al-falâlîḥ
3. *an-nowm aṣâ al-lowm bân ar-reda' beh*
   w-'ajnen tebi-ṭ-ṭowlât nowmeh ḥelâflḥ
4. *alli jirîd al-medeh jît'ab reḳâbeh*
   w-ar-rizḳ ḥeṭûl al-ḥaṭa' jâ-hla-l-flḥ
5. *jidûk 'ajrât an-nepa' be'aḳâbeh*
   w-ad-daww jikṭa'ennah 'aṣîren beterwîḥ
6. *mâ fowḳha illa' ḥirbeten ma' ṣaḥâbeh*
   w-eṣfâjefen ṭabrâḥ lown al-maîâwîḥ

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

her kin, who may not demand it. Since he has bought her, she becomes his property, and he may punish her even by death, *sikṯha wa-ʾtarajṯha ʾra*. However, her kinsfolk investigate the reason for her death and take vengeance on him if they think the motives insufficient.

The father who kills his son or daughter is responsible to nobody, as his children are his property, *mulk*.

If a son kills his father or mother, no avenger will rise against him, but he must leave his clan or tribe forever. The same is true of a daughter who murders one of her parents.

There is no blood price if a chief, or any Bedouin, kills a member of some other tribe who, happening to be in camp at the time a raid was being planned against an alien tribe, gave warning to the latter for payment. A hired traitor, *naḏir* or *haddâm*, may be killed without fear of vengeance.

When a camp guard observes a man at night creeping close to the tents or herds and calls to him: "Who art thou, fellow, before I do something terrible? *waš ent jâ zeḷema žabl al-waḥama*," and the unknown man instead of answering starts to flee, the guard may shoot him without being liable to vengeance. He that sights a thief in his tent at night and shoots or kills him is, likewise, immune from vengeance.

He who rides through the desert on a dark night and wounds or shoots dead a robber who has assaulted him, will not fall under the ban of vengeance but has to prove that he acted in self-defense.

For violating a virgin the offender may be killed with impunity by any one of her kin. Should any one attack the virgin's avenger, he would be destroyed by his own kin. The honor of the virgin demands it, *mašja-l-ʿarṣ*.

A husband who sees a strange man with his wife pretends to see nothing but steals after him and, if nobody is near, kills him. The kin of the murdered man, although they pretend to seek out the slayer, are very careful not to attack the husband of the woman with whom the murdered man had illicit relations. Their kinsman was killed as a thief or robber, and they do not wish to blacken his face by forcing the husband to disclose what he has witnessed. Hence, pretending to seek out the slayer, they actually divert attention from him, while ostensibly showing their willingness to avenge their kinsman.

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

had paid for her what her kin asked, he was not obliged to give them anything now.

Me'ğel eben 'Amša of the Drejb kin of the Ḳmuṣa on returning home found his young wife sobbing.

"What ails thee?" he asked.

"Thine only brother Sammîṭ has raped me!"

Taking his revolver, Me'ğel sought out his brother and, with the words "Thus I punish a brother who has raped my wife," shot him dead.

The neighbors heard his words and saw Sammîṭ fall dead, but no one dared to act against Me'ğel.

As soon as the head chief Raṭwân eben Meršed heard of it, he rode to the slayer, entered his tent, and said:

"By Allâh, thou shalt die this moment; *w-allâh kowd ent temût 'enda has-sâ'a.*"

But Me'ğel's and Sammîṭ's mother, who was a widow, embraced her only son, crying:

"O Raṭwân, leave me at least this child, the only boy I have now! *ḫalli wlejdi ḫalli waḥidi.*"

Raṭwân turned on his heel and rode away without hurting Me'ğel.

A Ḳmâṣi, 'Awênân eben Sa'îd, watered his herd at al-Ğubb, south-southwest of al-Mijâḍîn. The well was about two meters deep but wider at its coping stone than at the bottom, making the drawing of the water very difficult. His comrade therefore crept down, filled the leather bucket with water, and handed it to 'Awênân, who was standing above, to empty into the water trough. The thirsty camels pressing close, 'Awênân alone could not keep them away, and one slid down the well. 'Awênân caught the animal quickly by the head and jerked it to the ground, so that her front legs were outside, her belly on the coping stone, and her hind legs kicking wildly inside the well. One kick struck the man standing below, splitting his head. 'Awênân's shouts for help brought other herdsmen to the scene, who pulled out both the camel and the injured man; the animal was unhurt, but the man soon died. When his father then seized the whole of 'Awênân's herd, the latter tied the dead man's clothes to the camel by which he had been killed, swore that nobody but that animal had killed him, and offered compensation. The judges declared